

Message Text

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ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 SS-15 NSC-10 L-03 AID-20

IGA-02 EB-11 TRSE-00 RSC-01 RSR-01 /078 W

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FM USDEL JEC PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0043

INFO AMEMBASSY SAIGON IMMEDIATE

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E. O. 11652: N/ A - 4/18/74

TAGS: US, PINT

SUBJECT: GVN- PRG BILATERALS: EIGHT PLENARY, APRIL 25, 1973

1. (SUMMARY) BOTH SIDES PRESENTED COMPREHENSIVE NEW PROPOSALS DESIGNED TO BREAK THE STALEMATE IN THE TALKS. THE GVN SEVEN SUBSTANTIVE POINTS OUTLINED A PROGRAM OF PRECISE STEPS AND SPECIFIC TARGET DATES LEADING TO GENERAL ELECTIONS AUGUST 26. MORE VAGUELY PHRASED PRG PROPOSALS, LACKING THE " CALENDAR" INCLUDED IN THE GVN PROGRAM, CALLED FOR IMMEDIATE SATISFACTION OF CERTAIN BASIC PRG DEMANDS, FOLLOWED BY DISCUSSIONS ON MODALITIES FOR ELECTING A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY AND FOR DEMOBILIZING ARMED FORCES IN SVN. THE SVN PROPOSED AROUND- THE- CLOCK DISCUSSIONS IN HOPES OF MEETING THE APRIL 27 GOAL SET FOR THESE TALKS. HOWEVER, THE PRG, CAUGHT OFF BASE BY THE THRUST AND SCOPE OF THE GVN PROPOSALS, DECLINED TO SET ANY DATE FOR THE NEXT PLENARY. IT APPEARS, HOWEVER, THAT THE TWO SIDES MAY MEET AGAIN NEXT WEEK. (END SUMMARY)

2. THE GVN CHIEF DELEGATE, DEPUTY PRIMIN VIEN, READ A PREPARED STATEMENT OUTLINING A PROGRAM FOR RESOLUTION OF SVN POLITICAL QUESTIONS. HE PROPOSED THAT THE TWO SIDES REACH A " PRELIMINARY AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE" CONSISTING OF THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

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(1) A FINAL, COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT ON SVN
INTERNAL QUESTIONS WOULD BE SIGNED WITHIN 30
DAYS AFTER REACHING THIS PRELIMINARY AGREEMENT;

(3) INTERNATIONALLY SUPERVISED ELECTIONS WOULD
BE HELD 120 DAYS AFTER REACHING THIS PRELIMINARY
AGREEMENT, FOR ELECTION OF A REPRESENTATIVE
" ORGANISM";

(3) THE REPRESENTATIVE " ORGANISM" WOULD DETERMINE
THE " STATE INSTITUTIONS" TO EXIST AT CENTRAL AND
REGIONAL LEVELS;

(4) THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION
AND CONCORD (NCRC) WOULD BE CONVENED NLT 30 DAYS
AFTER SIGNATURE OF THE FINAL AGREEMENT; THE NCRC' S
" THIRD COMPONENT" WOULD BE CHOSEN BY JOINT GVN- PRG
AGREEMENT;

(5) THE NCRC WOULD COMPLETE A LAW ON PROCEDURES AND
MODALITIES FOR THE GENERAL ELECTIONS NLT 30 DAYS
AFTER CONVENING; I. E. NLT 60 DAYS AFTER SIGNATURE
OF THE FINAL AGREEMENT;

(6) NON- SVN ARMED FORCES WOULD BE WITHDRAWN IN
PARALLEL WITH DEMOBILIZATION OF GVN FORCES, IN TWO
PHASES, CONCLUDING WITH CONVENING OF THE NCRC AND
COMPLETION BY THE LATTER OF THE ELECTION LAW,
RESPECTIVELY;

(7) WARTIME RESTRICTIONS ON CIVIL LIBERTIES WOULD
BE ELIMINATED BY BOTH SIDES AFTER SIGNATURE OF THE
FINAL AGREEMENT, AND IN PARALLEL WITH OBSERVANCE
OF THE CEASEFIRE AND WITHDRAWAL OF NON- SVN FORCES.

3. VIEN ALSO SUBMITTED A PROPOSED CALENDAR ILLUSTRATING
THE PROCESSES OUTLINED ABOVE:

APRIL 27 (D) - SIGNATURE OF THE PRELIMINARY
AGREEMENT;
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MAY 27 (D PLUS 30) - SIGNATURE OF THE FINAL AGREEMENT;
ELIMINATION OF RESTRICTIONS ON DEMOCRATIC FREEDOMS;
PHASE I OF TROOP WITHDRAWAL/ REDUCTION BEGINS;

JUNE 26 (D PLUS 60) - CONVENING OF NCRC; PHASE II OF
TROOP WITHDRAWAL/ REDUCTION BEGINS;

JULY 26 (D PLUS 90) - COMPLETION OF ELECTION LAW BY
NCRC; ELECTION CAMPAIGNS BEGIN;

AUGUST 26 (D PLUS 120) - GENERAL ELECTIONS.

4. PRG CHIEF DELEGATE HIEU' S PREPARED STATEMENT BEGAN WITH
DENUNCIATION OF U. S.- GVN " FLAGRANT VIOLATIONS" OF THE AGREE-
MENT, INCLUDING ALLEGED U. S. ESCALATION IN LAOS AND CAMBODIA.
GVN THEMES OF " AGGRESSION FROM THE NORTH" AND " NVA
WITHDRAWAL" HAD BLOCKED RESOLUTION OF SVN POLITICAL
ISSUES, HIEU CLAIMED. IN THE INTERESTS OF MEETING THE
AGREEMENT- PRESCRIBED TARGET DATE FOR THE BILATERAL
TALKS, HOWEVER, THE PRG SUGGESTED AS FOLLOWS:

(1) IMMEDIATE CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES IN SVN AND
STRICT OBSERVANCE OF THE CEASEFIRE, INCLUDING
A) RETURN OF ARVN UNITS TO PRE- JANUARY 28 POSITIONS;
B) OPPOSING COMMANDERS TO MEET AND WORK OUT
AGREEMENTS ON AVOIDING HOSTILITIES;
C) THE JOINT MILITARY COMMISSION TO DELINEATE
RESPECTIVE ZONES OF CONTROL, CORRIDORS, ROUTES,

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AND OTHER MEANS OF MILITARY MOVEMENTS ACROSS ZONES
OF THE OTHER PARTY;

(2) IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF CIVILIAN PRISONERS;

(3) IMMEDIATE GUARANTEE AND APPLICATION OF DEMOCRATIC
FREEDOMS;

(4) FORMATION OF THE NCRC, INCLUDING REACHING AGREEMENT ON MEANS OF DESIGNATING ITS MEMBERS;

(5) FREE GENERAL ELECTIONS FOR A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY;

(6) REDUCTION AND DEMOBILIZATION OF VIETNAMESE ARMED FORCES IN SVN.

5. HIEU CONCLUDED BY POINTING OUT THAT THE PRG PROPOSALS WERE IN TWO PHASES. AFTER DISCUSSIONS AND AGREEMENT ON POINTS ONE THROUGH FOUR, THE TWO SIDES WOULD DISCUSS POINTS FIVE AND SIX.

6. THERE WERE NO ADDITIONAL REMARKS BY EITHER SIDE. VIEN PRESSED HARD FOR AN AROUND- THE- CLOCK DISCUSSION OF THE GVN PROPOSALS (WHICH WERE PRESENTED IN THE FORM OF A DRAFT PRELIMINARY AGREEMENT) SO AS TO SATISFY THE APRIL 27 OBJECTIVE. WITH THE EXCUSE THAT SUCH SCHEDULING LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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WOULD PROVE TOO ONEROUS FOR THE FRENCH EMPLOYEES AT THE CONFERENCE SITE, HIEU COUNTERED BY PROPOSING THAT THE NEXT PLENARY BE SCHEDULED THROUGH LIAISON OFFICERS. (IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE MEETING VIEN SENT GVN LIAISON OFFICERS TO PROPOSE SCHEDULING ON ANY DATE ACCEPTABLE TO THE PRG; THE LATTER AVOIDED THE QUESTION ENTIRELY.)

7. THE PRG PRESS CONFERENCE CAME FIRST, WITH HIEU CONDUCTING IT HIMSELF. HE DESCRIBED THE GVN PROPOSALS AS A " PROPAGANDA MANEUVER" DESIGNED TO ELUDE GVN RESPONSIBILITIES TOWARDS THE CEASEFIRE AND CIVIL LIBERTIES. HIS SPECIFIC CRITICISMS WERE THAT THE GVN HAD BROUGHT UP THE NVA ISSUE ONCE AGAIN, HAD TRIED TO REDUCE THE NCRC TO A MERE ELECTORAL COUNCIL, HAD NOT TAKEN " THIRD COMPONENT VIEWS" INTO CONSIDERATION, AND HAD SET " ARTIFICIAL" STAGES AND PERIODS. HE CONCLUDED THAT THE GVN HAD NO DESIRE TO RESOLVE SVN POLITICAL ISSUES RAPIDLY.

8. IN RESPONSE TO PRESS QUERIES, HIEU TERMED THE GVN ELECTION PROPOSAL " VAGUE" AND " IMPRECISE" IN CONTRAST TO THE PRG' S " CONCRETE" PROPOSAL. HE DENOUNCED ALLEGED GVN REFUSALS TO LIBERATE CIVILIAN PRISONERS, ASKING HOW THE THIRD COMPONENT COULD FUNCTION IF " NOT FREE." QUESTIONED REPEATEDLY ABOUT THE GVN TIMETABLE, HIEU HEDGED BY CASTIGATING ALLEGED GVN REJECTION OF FUNDAMENTAL LIBERTARIAN PRINCIPLES, WHICH MADE ITS ELECTION PROPOSALS " UNREACHABLE" AND HYPOCRITICAL.

9. HIEU SPECIFICALLY DENIED THAT ANY BILATERAL PRIVATE TALKS HAD TAKEN PLACE. IN ONE OF SUPRISINGLY FEW REFERENCES TO THE U. S. HIEU DENOUNCED " OVERT U. S. INTERVENTION" WHICH ATTEMPTED " VINDICATION" OF THE NIXON DOCTRINE, AND CITED U. S. " EMBARRASSMENT" OVER " CONTRADICTORY" U. S. DESCRIPTIONS OF THE CAMBODIAN SITUATION, I. E. CONCERNING THE NVA ROLE THERE. IN CLOSING A LONG PRESS CONFERENCE HIEU WAS AMBIGUOUS ABOUT THE STATUS OF THE TALKS, DISMISSING THE GVN PROPOSALS AS " NOTHING CONSTRUCTIVE", YET HOLDING THAT THE MERE FACT THAT THE TWO SIDES WERE MEETING AND DISCUSSING MATTERS CONSTITUTED PROGRESS OF A KIND.

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10. DAN, FOR THE GVN, LED OFF BY TERMING THE PRG PACKAGE A COMBINATION OF PREREQUISITE DEMANDS AND INDEFINITE TIMING. HE REMARKED THAT PRG POINT SIX WAS AN ADVANCE OF A SORT, FOR THE POINT (ON ARMED FORCES) INDICATED THE PRG HAD JUST DISCOVERED THE EXISTENCE OF ARTICLE 13 IN THE PARIS AGREEMENT. NUMEROUS QUESTIONS WERE PUT TO HIM ABOUT WHETHER THE GVN PROPOSAL FOR A REPRESENTATIVE " ORGANISM" SIGNIFIED MODIFICATION OF PAST STAUNCH DEFENSE OF THE RVN CONSTITUTION. DAN AVOIDED DIRECT RESPONSES, BUT TERMED THE PROPOSED BODY A " SOVEREIGN ORGANISM", " OF BROAD COMPETENCE", " WITH ALL OPTION OPEN TO IT." DETAILS ABOUT ITS EXACT STATUS, COMPOSITION, ETC., WOULD BE NEGOTIATED AT THE BILATERAL TALKS.

11. DAN DESCRIBED THE PROPOSALS FOR RVNAF DEMOBILIZATION, FOR TWO PHASES OF WITHDRAWAL/ DEMOBILIZATION, AND FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF THE " ORGANISM" AS DESIGNED TO PROVE THE GVN' S CONCILIATORY AND FLEXIBLE POSITION. HE DEFENDED THE " ORGANISM" AGAINST ACCUSATIONS THAT IT WOULD COMPROMISE THE NCRC ROLE BY DESCRIBING NCRC FUNCTIONS AS VAGUELY PRESCRIBED IN THE AGEEMENT AND OVERTAKEN BY THE SIGNATORIES' PEACEKEEPING RESPONSIBILITIES. DECON 4/18/74
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